THE

Hindu Message

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

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CONTENTS.

A Vision of India:
India's Places of Pilgrimage: By K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri, B.A., B.L. 97
Great Thoughts: 97
Events of the Week. 98
Leader:
The War-Mongers. 99
The Das Programme. By S. Mahalinga Aiyar. 100
Foreign Affairs. 100
Literary and Educational:
Why should education be free? By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar B.A., 101
Agricultural:
Land-Problems in India. By V. Rangaswami Iyengar 102
Historical and Scientific:
Lectures on Indian Music. By M. S. Ramaswamy Aiyar, B.A., B.L., L.T., 104
Reviews:
The Milk of Gandhism. 106
Miscellaneous:
The Present Situation at Sringeri. By R. Krishnaswami Aiyar M.A., B.L. 107
The Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Bill. 110

The Hindu Message stands for

(1) Self-Government for India within the British Commonwealth,
(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,
(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,
(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and
(5) Dissemination of pure Hindu Culture.

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A Vision of India.

INDIA'S PLACES OF PILGRIMAGE.

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.,

Around thee cling what sacred memories!
My mind is filled with utter holiness
Which floods my soul and doth with rapture bless
Thou art e'en yet a home of mystic peace.
What visions sweet my dreaming mind now sees!
I see Lord Rama his just ire suppress
And Ocean's sovereign trailing foam-bright dress
Bow by the darbha couch on bended knees.
And now again I see in airy flight
The Lord returning to his waiting throne
And halting here to praise Lord Siwa's grace.
His faithful friends in proud victorious might
At sight of him true rapture feel and own.
And stand in self-forgetful glad amaze.

Great Thoughts.

One leak in a ship will sink it; one wound strikes Goliath dead, as well as three and twenty did Cæsar; one Dealilah may do Samson as much spite and mischief as all the Philistines; one broken wheel spoils the whole clock; one vein's bleedlng will let out all the vitals, as well as more; one fly will spoil a whole box of ointment; one bitter herb all the pottage. By eating one apple Adam lost Paradise; one lick of honey endangered Jonathan's life; one Achan was a trouble to all Israel; one Jonah raises a storm, and becomes a lading too heavy for a whole ship.

ॐ

Wise men are instructed by reason; men of less understanding, by experience; the most ignorant, by necessity; and beasts by nature.

ॐ

The thoughts that come often unsought, and, as it were, drop into the mind, are commonly the most valuable we have, and therefore should be secured, because they seldom return again.

ॐ

The stoutest armour of defence is that which is worn within the bosom; and the weapon that no enemy can parry is a bold and cheerful spirit.

ॐ

Wickedness, by whomsoever committed, is odious, but most of all in men of learning; for learning is the weapon with which Satan is combated, and when a man is made captive with arms in his hand his shame is more excessive.

ॐ

A word spoken in quietness, and by way of appeal to the free judgment and reason of men, can rarely fail to be in season.

ॐ

When the sun of joy is hidden,
And the sky is overcast,
Just remember light is coming,
And a storm can never last.

Events of the Week

We have received a descriptive, illustrated pamphlet of the British Empire Exhibition, 1924, Indian Section. It is very well printed on art paper and contains an outline of the arrangements that are being made in Wembley Park. The object of the Exhibition, its organisation and the respective shares of Great Britain, the Dominions and India, with accounts of important special features such as the Empire Stadium are set down in the pamphlet. Further it contains General regulations for exhibitors, Patents and Designs Acts, 1907 and 1919, Additional rules for Indian exhibitors etc. Some of the important sections in the Exhibition will be those of modern machinery, mining and metallurgical section, the Congress Hall, Imperial Fisheries, Art of the Empire, Agriculture, Tropical Diseases, Anthropolegical section, Town Planning, Social Economy, Aeronautics etc.

* * *

The Government of Malaya are said to have intimated that they are taking steps to give effect to the terms of the Legislative Assembly on emigration to Malaya, and also, to suggestions put forward by the Government of India at the instance of the Standing Committee on Emigration. Among these is the Standardisation of wages, subject to a minimum wage.

* * *

Zeal, they say, sometimes outruns discretion; and in this country we have noticed how official zeal in the matter of repressing unsavoury opinions and their exponents has often outrun the bounds of legality. Some balm however may be extracted from the comic and ludicrous position in which a European Joint Magistrate in Khulna landed himself, as explained by him in the following letter to the press:—'I should be greatly obliged if you could allow me through your columns to offer an apology to the government servants refused entrance to the judge's compound this morning when they came in procession to celebrate the King Emperor's birthday. I was under an entirely mistaken impression as to the character of the procession and am deeply distressed at the unhappy impression that my carelessness has caused. I wish all concerned also to know that the responsibility is entirely mine. The district judge was not aware at the time, and was quite unaware of the procession's arrival and of all that happened.' Then what of the staggering misuse of Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. in these recent years?

* * *

The Ides of March have come and gone: and we wonder what our Liberal compatriots propose to do after the fizzling out of the great debate on the Salt Tax in the House of Commons. Even *New India* has been constrained to think that in native efforts alone ought we to depend for our emancipation. That Labour took the line it did, that of an apologetic exponent of the Indian case who half believed that the Viceroy may after all be right, is no wonder in our opinion. We have often held that in any crucial question in Indian affairs, Labour's support will never come forth and where it comes to our aid it will not be worth a straw' Gestures are all very easily explained: but it is only in the nature of things that a party which has almost within its grasp parliamentary supremacy and power should seek to be calltons. And nowhere have we seen any party in its days of power courageously applying the principles for which it fought in its struggling days. That leaves a moral behind which, so far as we see, has not been seized by the Indian leaders who are lost amidst internecine quarrels and among a maze of words.

* * *

Apparently the agitation over the Laurence Statue in Lahore has had a wholesome effect in certain quarters. For, the London correspondent of the *Servant of India* writes: "I hear that Lord Sydenham's statue is still lying in the Chelsea studio where it was chiselled, because the donors do not wish to take the risk of attempting to set it up within the municipal limits of Bombay. Lord Sydenham is evidently not so popular there as he once was said to be." We agree with the following comment of a contemporary on this piece of news. Lord Sydenham's admirers need not flatter themselves, however, that he will rouse anger—he rouses contempt by his presistant opposition even to the milk and water liberalism of the Indian Government. But, then, so far as his statue is concerned, the trouble may be from the Liberals, who can never forget that, but for his opposition, the reforms might have been a little more generous

* * *

News about the Kenya conversations is again extremely meagre. That the Imperial conference is shortly to meet and that General Smuts has said the whole question of Indians in Africa ought to be settled now, far from allaying suspicions, only serve to deepen them. From all accounts, opinion is veering round to a Crown Colony system of government. There is no reason why India should object to such a scheme, and in fact the Kenya Indians have expressed their willingness to abide by such a form of government. In fact in the absence of effective and just safeguards for themselves in a self-governing colony they have themselves called for Crown Coloney system. Mr. C. F. Andrews, however, who has throughout this, as well as in many another question in our internal politics, acted as the good Indian he is, has warned us that India is going to lose her case. This is not surprising. A Crown Colony system of government, with a weak parliamentary government, may lead to far worse results for the Indian and the native than the autocracy and unrestrained tyranny of a self governing white oligarchy. The readers who remember the martial law regime in ceylon and the whole malodorous story may well be apprehensive, as Mr. Andrews certainly is. A great duty therefore lies on the publicists of this country to see that justice is done to our countrymen in Kenya.

* * *

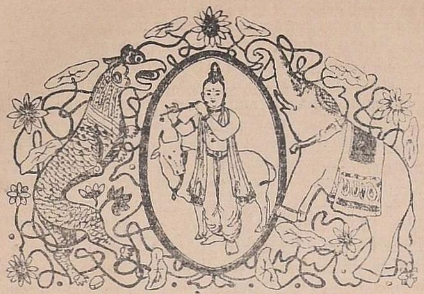
The couutry is seriously alarmed over the health of Lala Lajpat Rai. The Press is flooded with protests, from people who have seen the inside, not as visitors but as prisoners, of British Indian Jail. A medical man of the latter class has described how he himself was, while in jail, treated for "hysterical fits" while actually suffering from apoplexy due to intense heat. And he asks the pertinent question, if a medical man can have that fate, what about poor Lala Lajpat Rai, specially when his disease is considered of such a serious nature. We have yet to learn that free. open air and systematic treatment, two things of supreme importance in tuberculosis, are super-abundant in our Indian Jails. The callousness of the Punjaub Government here is only equalled by what we are compelled to regard as the cheek of the Under-Secretary's reply in Parliament where the question was raised.

* * *

A somewhat sensational piece of news of the week is that Babu Bipin Chandra Pal has joined the Congress. Mr. Pal's views have varied so often in the past, have undergone such vagaries even in the matter of expression in the not uncongenial columns of the *Englishman*, that it is hard to foretell what influence he will exert on the Congress. His attack on the Mahatma and his stirring up the bogey of Pan-Islamism will, we fear, very seriously detract from his usefulness as a Congressman. He has latterly begun to attack Mr. C. R. Das for his evident floundering in a mass of contradictions. Surprising as his present decision to join the Congress is and passing over his many inconsistencies, it cannot still be denied that Mr. Pal was once a great force in our politics: and there seems to be no reason not to hope that he may not be again if the Congress returns to a saner, practical course, such as is beloved of the Maharashtra politicians.

* * *

The eagerly looked for meeting of the "Srirangam Temple Repairs Enquiry Committee" has been postponed 'Sine die' simply because the President of the Committee Sir Habibulla Saheb happens to be too busy with his preparations for his depature to England. Very funny indeed! If Sir Habibulla is busy elsewhere certainly God Ranganatha and his temple Repairs must perforce wait. Could none else take Sir Habibulla's place. Is he indispensable! What a sad commentary on the present day Government?



The Hindu Message

The War-Mongers.

That certain frontier murderers had escaped to Afghanistan our readers have known. They know also that the Amir had issued orders for their arrest. The latest telegrams indicate that some of them have been arrested and have been sent to take their trial before Afghan courts. The Kohat murderers seem however to be Afghan subjects and at the moment of writing it is not known whether these miscreants have also been arrested. It has been said, we do not know on what authority, that these are subjects of the Amir. Even granting they are, there is no reason to presume there is any guilty connection between the Amir and these brutal outrages on the Frontier. In any case, in a country like Afghanistan where settled government only began a few short decades before and which the Amir is straining every nerve to bring up on modern progressive lines, it stands to reason that the apprehension of frontier marauders will be a matter of some delay. Even the costly perfection of British Indian police has oftentimes not availed authority in this country ; as, witness the very mischievous infliction of punitive police in whole villages because the police, paid for by the self same villagers among others, are not able to apprehend Jambulingam, the notrious bandit-chief. But Satan, they say, still finds mischief for idle hands to do : and the section of the Press in England which is never so happy as when egging nations to war against each other have been deliberately maliciously using this sorry pretext as an excuse to inflame the passions of the public mind against Afghanistan and its enlightened ruler. Possibly an independent Afghanistan with a ruler at its head who, for a wonder, has assimilated or at least taken with astonishing alacrity to the whole apparatus of western nationalism, who has thrown his country open to foreign nations with the Bolsheviks also included, is an eyesore to Imperialist organs in the Press of England. Why! we have an exponent of such views in the *Pioneer* which, on this self-same provocation, has taken its cue from the *Daily Mail* and has on two or three days let itself go in the fashion of the Swaggering bully of the tavern brawls. "An Anglo-Indian," writing in the "Daily Mail" has been scarifying the British that the Ellis incident is only a premature signal of the deep machinations that are going on at Jallalabad. Listen further to this precious Anglo-Indian. "Many Pathans served in the Indian Corps in France and without doubt the European War had in some respects a harmful influence upon some Indian troops. They did not lose their respect for the British, but after being engaged in conflict with white troops on the battlefield, they began to feel themselves equal to all white races." Yes there is the rub : These unlettered, rude, semi-savage tribes have somehow been leavened by the spirit of equality and "this feeling," says our writer, scared out of his wits, "has tended to impair the authority of British officers." So that Authority ought to be reinstated in all its immaculate, if somewhat shorn, prestige: and what so logically inferable as that the tribes ought to be punished with shot and shell and bombs. But the reader will be very much mistaken if he thinks that if this be all, the Anglo-Indian is wasting his breath. No, yet more terrible things follow. The Amir is reported to be again—note the again and its subtle relation to the last Afghan War—in a vain-glorious and provocative mood. Evidently "An Anglo-Indian" is better informed than the authorities: and what a pity he should be so ungenerous as to hide his identity. May be he is ashamed of himself for being the tool of war-mongers. But we shall get on. The Amir has been making inflammatory speeches—we suppose these get broadcasted to the Daily Mail office and its circle of war-mongers—to many of the border tribes. He, we are told further, claims, not for the first time, that since the Sultan of Turkey has been deposed from the Caliphate he has become the leading ruler in the Mohammedan world. Well, with constitutional sovereignty in modern Post-war Turkey, the warring Sheiks and puppet Kings in Asia Minor and South and the Shadow of a King at Teheran, this seems to be a fact anyhow. But "an Anglo-Indian" thinks otherwise. He does not pretend to be Caliph,—which for all the dust "Anglo-Indian" is raising, he might as well have done but he is telling tribal leaders that in future they must look to him and not to Great Britain. "Anglo-Indian" no

doubt speaks from his brief: but if what the Amir is reported to have said is true, we must revise our opinion of his Statesmanship that he should invite a thorn on his side. The consequence of all this is the unrest on the Frontier. We wonder in what year this Anglo-Indian was born: he is such a babe in his knowledge of the frontier and its troubles. "When a ruler so powerful as the Amir sits down quite close to the frontier, and tells ignorant and reckless tribal leaders that he is now the greatest King in Islam, and that all good Mohammedans should do his bidding and resist British authority, it needs great efforts from British officers to avail against such blandishments." Now it must be remembered that the Amir is bound to India by treaty. The person and prestige of the Amir have a strong hold on the imagination of all his subjects, Hindu and Mohammedan, partly because of his youth and independence, also because of his reforming zeal which has enabled him to graft on to the personal rule of Oriental countries some of the tried advantages of modern methods of administration. Unless therefore there are more irrefragable proofs of hostile activity on the part of the Afghan Amir it would be impossible for the filibusters of the Daily Mail and its toadies to enlist the sympathy of India, Hindu and Moslem alike, against him. The person of oriental rulers is always sacred, whatever the Princes' Protection Bill might seem to suggest; and foreign scribes must curb their ill-mannered criticisms of friendly oriental rulers. We wonder if such talk will be permitted of a European King, even with the notorious tendencies of the British press and diplomacy to deliver professorial lectures to other nations and their monarchs. In the combustible atmosphere which assuredly prevails all over Asia today, such reckless writings constitute a distinct manace to peace: and the authorities would do well to curb the zeal of fevered pressmen.

The Das Programme.

By S. Mahalinga Aiyar.

For those who can straightly judge bearing in view the best interests of the coutnry alone, without being led away by preconceived predilictions or considerations of personalities, Desabandhu Das's criticism of our politics of the recent past would appear as natural and reasonable and his programme for the immediate future to be worthy of a fair trial. His programme may lack logical perfection or metaphysical soundness. But as coming from a man who has been one of the foremost lieutenants of Mahatma Gandhi—one who is not an armchair politician criticising things from a distance, but a veteran of proved worth who has but recently been in the very thick of the fight—do we not owe it to him and to us that we give his policy and programme a fair consideration and an honest trial? Mr. Das says that the N. C. O. programme has met with but indifferent success in its fourfold aspects. Its perfection as an ideal or its undoubted efficacy, if carried out in full, has never been questioned. That it has also, during the brief period of its operation, caused a tremendous moral upheaval and evoked patriotic energy of an undreamt of extension and depth, is universally admitted. But who can deny that natural obstacles have proved too strong for the widespread adoption, which alone could ensure the immediate success, of such a hard and exacting programme? The movement was gathering increasing momentum till the end of 1921. What has been its history since? Shall we, asks Mr. Das, simply repeat old *manthrams* without reflecting on their present efficacy?

It is true that at the last elections the majority of voters abstained from voting. But did that keep the Councils empty or prevent them from functioning? If there were a rule that a member can sit only if at least 50 per cent of the total number of voters attend the polling, the policy of boycotting the Councils by boycotting the polling boths will be effective. But, as it is, nine-tenths of the voters of an electorate may be persuaded to abstain from voting, but still the remaining one-tenth can send a member. How to avoid this anamoly, by which the weaker side is enabled to triumph over the stronger? Mr. Das says: "Your method of boycott will be effective only if you can ensure that *every single* voter, of the millions of voters, does note vote. That is not, humanly speaking, possible. Therefore, change your method. You are like a person crying for ghee with plenty of butter in his hands. With a clear majority of voters on your side, you can send your men into the Councils, instead of vainly standing aside and allowing your opponents to fill the places which you intended to keep vacant. After sending your men into the Council, make them do your bidding. Ask them to stand guard at the gate of the bureaucracy's fort, preventing the entrance of others who might betray the interests of the country. Let your men enforce the policy of boycott from within, by repeatedly vacating their seats and seeking re-election, or prevent the Councils from functioning smoothly by organised and persistent obstruction. Thus can you foil your opponent with his own weapon, or at least, prevent his using it to your detriment with the aid of your own countrymen." Have not the Reformed Councils proved ready tools in the hands of the bureaucracy, for passing anti-popular legislation and imposing additional taxation? Have they not also proved valuable allies to the bureaucracy in their repressive campaign against the national movement? Have they not, *Sikhandi like* acted as a protecting shield for warding off popular indignation against the misdeeds of the bureaucracy? In the pre-reform days the agitation within the Councils was keeping pace with, and was even sustaining and protecting, the agitation outside the Councils. But it is an unfortunate fact that during the period when non-co-operation was at its height, the Councils were absolutely isolated from the people. Under Mr. Das's programme violent friction within the Councils will generate heat both inside and outside the Councils; and only after a series of conflicts within and without the Councils will the people acquire sufficient strength and determination to finally overthrow the bureaucracy. Mr. Das said at Tinnevelly "Let us get beyond mere words into the field of action. I have offered you a programme of an all-round fight—a fight in which all may join, those who are capable of small sacrifices and of great sacrifices. Mine is a programme which kindless the spirit of resistance—a spirit upon which and which alone can non-co-operation flourish. Whatever you want you must want in the spirit of the Kshatriya?"

Foreign Affairs.

It is somewhat ludicrous to contemplate the dread with which M. Poincare speaks of passive resistance in the Ruhr: and it is equally laughable that he should insist as a condition precedent to resumption of conversations that the German Government ought to stop it. According to telegrams last week, he would not hear of anything until he had the assurance from the Government of Germany that passive resistance would be suspended. Now, the British Government in this matter have taken the only correct attitude for

many years; they are of opinion that discussions must take place before any such undertaking can be asked. Though the British is the more reasonable view, it is still amusing to contemplate how both have missed the essence of the principle of passive resistance. Passive resistance is never the result of organised governmental or other action; it is the spontaneous expression of popular indignation. Suppose the German Government issues an edict against its continuance: it will be reducing itself to a mockery, for such an edict will not be obeyed so long as the causes are there and which later Germany is powerless to remove. The only way for passive resistance to end is for the French to clear out of the Ruhr. The fell satanic orgies perpetrated in the Ruhr are only calculated to make the world safe for another war.

At the Co-operative Congrees at Edinburgh Mr. Robert Stewart, of Glasgow, the President, said that in 1883 the membership of co-operative societies in the United Kingdom was 602,181, and now it had risen to 4,598,737 men and women. The capital in 1883 was £ 1,837,788, and today it is £ 418,503,763. The money value of sales then was £ 23,472,470; now they reached the enormous figure of £134,383,138. The value of their productive efforts amounted to more than 40,000,000, and they employed 132,000 workers. At no period in their history had co-operation experienced such a 'slump' in business, but the prospect for the future was brighter. The influence of trusts, combines, and multiple firms had assumed gigantic proportions, and they seemed to be chiefly a stimulant for speculators and tariff reformers.

When last we dealt in these columns with the situation in Palestine we saw how the British authorities were up against implacable native opposition to the Zionist Policy. The Duke of Devonshire in his speech in the House of Lords last March confessed that Arab Non-Co-operation had rendered the primary elections a farce: and deprecated in the manner of the true Imperialist that it was a pity the Arabs did not know what was good for themselves. There were, his Lordship said, 'difficulties in the way of publishing' despatches and documents concerned with the Palestinian adventure. The Colonial Office were however at no end of their resources: they set up an Advisory Council, with a majority of non-official Moslems and Christians. The Arab Congress at Nabha, which had all along taken a stubborn line of resistence to the blandishments of Jewish financiers called on the nominated non-officials to resign, which they promptly did. Thus at every stage has the Zionist policy tumbled down like a house of cards before a puff of wind. What will the British now do? Revert to autocracy, pure and simple?

It is not possible yet to form definite conclusions as to the probable effects of the Bulgarian revolution on the Balkan and particularly Turko-Greek situation. Reuter's Sofia correspondent states that Colonel Katkoff, foreign Minister, stated at a cabinet meeting that absolute calm was reported everywhere. The causes of the rebellion are still obscure, except that the Agrarians brought it on themselves by ill-conceived repression of all other sections. A few attempts at resistance by] Stambuliski's supporters had been easily crushed. Railway and telegraphic communications are restored. Stambuliski supported by a loyal band of Agrarian guards, after stoutly resisting the troops at Pazardjit, is reported to have taken refuge in a wood where he has been surrounded, with orders to take him alive. Bulgarian ministers in Prague and Belgrade, strong supporters of the overthrown government, have been dismissed their posts. Serbian suspicions of the new government are emphasized by the complaints that Professor Maloff, former leader of Bulgarian Comitadji incursion into Serbia, has been appointed director of the political Department in the Foreign Ministry.

Those interested in what organised agriculture can do for the prosperity of a people will do well to study the birth of new Czecho-Slovakia. Anything pertaining to agriculture must certainly be of abiding interest, to India. Forty-two per cent, of its 14,000,000 people work on the land and 55 per cent. at its industries. Peasants grow rich—they have all made much money since the war and are lightly taxed, for it is difficult to reckon their profits—but however much they prosper thay have no desire to cease to be peasants. In enterprising Czecho-Slovakia agricultural prosperity is carried a stage farther by the fact that the peasants, while remaining on the land, are organised into co-operative societies, by means of which they conduct breweries and sugar refineries under their own control There are no fewer than 6,281 of these agricultural co-operative societies united into a central union. They range in kind from savings and loan banks to co-operative dairies and distilleries and societies for the purchase in common of Machinery and electrical plant. The intensive tillage of the ground in Czecho-Slovakia, the obvious prosperity of its villages, and the good upkeep of its roads are evidence of the efficiency of this system.

Literary and Educational.

Why should education be free?

By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar. B. A.

A volume of pronounced public opinion has gathered round the problem of problems, free and compulsory primary education. One question is why should education be free and compulsory? An enumeration of the catalogue of advantages claimed in its favour forms a proper answer to the above question.

We will deal here briefly with some of the chief claims in its favour. First and foremost is the poverty of the country. In India which is essentially an agricultural country, more than 75 per cent of the population depend on that industry for their very existence. Under-employment, though not unemployment is not uncommon. It is also alleged, and there is truth in the statement,—that several hundreds of our agricultural labourers are not even in possession of what are known as economic holdings of land. By this is meant the holding of a piece of land by which a certain labourer is enabled to support himself and his family in quite reasonable comfort. When such is the case, we cannot expect those people to pay for their children's education. Rather there is no incentive to send their sons to the school.

Again there is the historical aspect of the question. 'Centuries of misrule and disorder and tropical languor have left the population careless about the future and unwilling to put forth any extraordinary exertion for gaining additional wealth.' The masses in India as a whole are not enamoured of even free education. Being illiterate, education seems to possess no value in their eyes. But it is a hopeful sign of the times that India is in a stage of industrial regeneration. To pass through transition, it requires people of skill and intellect, men who would take pains to study the technique of modern scintific methods and discoveries, and who would endeavour to utilise the same for the advancement of the nation in both commercial and industrial directions. For this we should have a sound system of technical instruction. This again pre-supposes primary education. Unless it is free and also compulsory, we are afraid, full advantage would not be taken of it by all. Further there is a cry for agricultural education, to improve our agricultural production and to increase the total output. It has often been said that compared with America and the civilised countries of Europe, our production is too low. The late Mr. Gokhale has said in one of his speeches, 'the crop-yield per acre, already the lowest in the world, is declining still further.' The ignorance, besides the indebtedness, is the root cause and it must be removed.

Also some such kind of universal education confers not unnaturally certain social boons. It

would go a long way towards the amelioration of the social and moral condition of the nation. As a rule the labouring classes who form the majority in the country are poor and consequently lead a low standard of life. Free and compulsory education would enable them to live a higher standard of life and consequently make them enjoy sound health and free atmosphere. It would also endow them with a certain amount of responsibility which would in its turn tend to build up their character. It would indirectly furnish them with the spirit of thrift and a desire to accumulate wealth, for use in the evening of their life. In a word there would be complete transformation in their mental temperament and outlook, with the result they would become true citizens of India.

Above all it is the hall-mark of civilisation. It is the sign-board of progress. It would invest one and all with a spirit of healthy pride and hopefulness which would quicken the march of their moral and material advancement. Again to talke up a legitimate place in the category of advanced nations is India's long vision and ambition. This can be easily realised, if only the torchlight of education dispels the gloomy darkness that can be said to pervade the Indian atmosphere. It would tend to make the cup almost full of the milk of patriotism and nationalism continue overflowing. In fine it is a short-cut for the practice and training of the masses for enjoying the full fruits and privileges of responsible government.

Thus viewed in different aspects and considered from all practical points of view, the advantages of free and compulsory primary education are immeasurable and incalculable. And we cannot afford to neglect any further the blessings flowing from such a course of instruction. It is indeed significant to note that sincere efforts are being made in this direction.

Agricultural.

Land-Problems in India.

By V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar.

(continued)

An instance of the oppressive character of farming or contracting system is enough to bring home the untold hardships and sufferings to which the peasantry was subject.

A part of the country immediately surrounding Madras the seat of the the Government of the Nabob of Arcot was ceded to the English in the year 1763. This tract however was farmed to the Nabob's agents till the year 1780 when the Madras Government took the management into its own hands. During the period it was thus rented the District exhibited one entire scene of rapine and oppression added to which the Carnatic had been twice ravaged and sacked by the invasion of Hyder in 1768 and 1780 and on the latter occasion hardly a vestige of any villages was left, while the whole plain is represented as being "strewn by the bones and carcasses of human beings." To the ravage of war a famine succeeded and the emigration depopulated the country.

"The syatem of oppression in many instances displaced the mirasdars altogether, and thus villages are found almost entirely occupied by pycarry tenants. Mr. Place (the then Collector of Madras) (in his report, enumerates 15,994, meerassy shares held by 83,387 Meerasdars. Independantly of these shares there remained 1827 shares unclaimed which were occupied by pycarries (temporary tenants).

"To prevent the public revenue from suffering from arable land thus vacant the British Government resorted to the expedient of tranferring it temporarily to pycarries, or tenants of its own selection and in many instances these leases have, it is feared been rendered permanent and the real owners excluded for ever. When this step was taken in cases of real property belonging to individuals it may easily be believed that it was also extended to the common lands of the village community. Such was the attachment of the Meerasdar however, to land that he submitted to a heavier tax on his patrimonial estate than the pycarry could afford to pay; accordingly it is found that the Government tenants held their leases on more favourable terms than were allowed to the Meerasdars."

"The system which had actually prevailed in Bengal resolved itself into habitual extortion by the public officers and produced on the part of the cultivators the natural consequence of concealment and evasion of payments to the state."

"The rapid accession of territory, our ignorance of the languages, the customs and the institutions of the people, the necessity for money to meet our immediate exigencies, all combined at first to render the task of investigation and the relinquishments of the burthens under which we found the people labouring, peculiarly difficult. To escape from the trouble of inquiry and to avoid the determination of rights we absolutely granted to the Zamindars the exclusive right of what—not of collecting according to any fixed principles, but according to the usage which had brought the country to the brink of ruin. We had the right of usual extortionary system and compelled the cultivator to submit to it." It is how the regulation of 1793 originated and Zamindary system is nothing but feudalism legalised, and it was merely the product of oppression and extortion prevalent during the declining days of the Mogul Empire, and this system was altogether unknown to India till the Moghul Empire was at its zenith.

It is therefore untenable to hold that the present land policy is inherited from the ancient rulers of India.

How the land policy established under the above regulation is made to assume the present shape we now state.

We saw that financial necessities compelled the early British administrators to continue the farming or contracting system. The amounts the contractors had to pay were fixed in money. Low price of corn and unsteady market would not permit the contractors to realise the amounts due to the Government. For arrears of rent their properties had often to be sold in auction. The reports of frequent sales of estates and the consequent dislocation of the property of these contractors had reached England before Lord Cornwallis the author of permanent settlement departed for India to assume the office of Governor-General. This high-minded nobleman, was moved by the precarious state of the Zamindars who he believed were the real owners of land and the peasants were mere tenants under them and in his opinion they (Zamindars) deserved well of the state both from financial and political points of view. He and the authorities in England further considered it expedient to create new Zamindars or contractors of revenue to render this source (Land Revenue) more certain, and in order to attain this, the permanent settlement of the land revenue appeared to be the great desideratum. The only mode of effecting this object was to contract with the monied men for the land tax in the same way as tolls or other imposts are farmed." "Every conceivable individual, some Banker, shawl merchant, manufacturer, private servant, perhaps the butler of some great European began to purchase estates"

The old revenue and other officials and other nobles as well as the new contractors were styled under the common name of Zamindar who was declared by law of 1793 as the proprietors of the land. The main principles embodied in this regulation are as follows:— "the land revenue should be farmed to a contractor and in order to give him additional interest in the farm he should be allowed to let or sell for his own benefit and all the waste land fit for cultivation." The contemplated extension of this measure througout India, had to be given up as the authorities in England discovered within less than two decades, that this measure involved large sacrifices of revenue to the state. Temporary settlements for short periods were next entered into with the new farmers whose areas were restricted to a group of villages or even a single village. The Gram-Adhikars (Village Heads) were also given contracts. The state functionaries, the District and village heads, once the representatives of the people and guardians of public peace being reduced to the position of mere contractors their new situation led them to have recourse to rack-rent and oppress the very peasantry they once protected. By one stroke of pen the British Government had deprived the peasant proprietor, the only landed proprietor known to India, of all rights and privileges and the organisation namely the village Government which had hitherto protected him, was levelled to the ground by the effects of this measure. The last and final phase of this measure was typified into a system known as ryot-wari tenure. "One of the leading principles of the ryot-wari school is to claim the soil for the Government. "It denies the existence of various tenures, it assumes all the cultivators to have equal rights, and these rights are confined to the occupancy of their fields as long as they pay the Government demands."

From these instructions (to carry out the ryot-wari system) "we gather" says our author "that 30, 35, and 40 per cent of the gross produce estimated in money is to be fixed as the demand of Government."

Sir Thomas Munro, the chief exponent of the ryot-wari school said "I never could discover the least foundation for the assumption that the Hindu assessment had been raised by the Muhammadan conquest or for believing that the assessment that we now find did not exist before that period." Our author however points out that Sir Thomas himself was not unaware of the fact "that among the only Hindu Chiefs unsubdued by the Muhammadans are, the Rajas of Ceylon, Travancore, Cochin, and Coorg. The land tax was still but ten per cent of the gross produce." Further it appears from the statement submitted by Sir Thomas Munro to the Revenue Board in 1800 that he himself fixed the assessment of Canara 34 per cent higher than that of the Hindus though it was 25 per cent lower than that of the Muhammadans." The Muhammadans referred to, were Hyder Ali and his son Tippu Sultan by whom Canara was overrun.

It is clear that the regulation of 1793 was made to rest upon the political maxim of the decadent period. "A maxim in opposition to their (English) our laws" says our author "which had been propagated by our latter Muhammadan Viceroys claiming to be the proprietors of the soil was first admitted by the English without investigation." Appropriation of the lion's share of the produce from the cultivators for the state was even justified on an economic theory which is as amusing as it is outrageous. In the opinion of Mr. James Grant one of the most brilliant of Company's Officers at that time whose investigations and recommendations, had gradually paved the way for the ryot-wari settlement that heavy taxation on the poor is requisite to excite them (peasants) to labour."

It is simply astonishing to find that while exactly at a time when Europe with the aid of ideas of the French revolution, was assailing feudalism on economic, political, and moral grounds, was relieving the peasantry from its fetters and state after state was conferring on it the sole proprietership, the English in India by the regulation of 1793 were moving in the opposite direction and went on establishing feudalism. In referring to this regulation Mr. Thackeray observes in his report (4th August 1807) that "this measure appears to be doing what the policy of Europe has been for ages labouring to undo."

We can therefore make bold to say, that the present land policy is neither ancient nor modern, neither Eastern nor Western, but it is the outcome of ignorance, necessity and opportunism and all combined.

There is no point of resemblance at all between the present land policy and that of the ancient rulers of this land Hindus or Muhammadans. In pre-British days, the peasants were the proprietors of the soil known by names in the various parts of the country, as swatantradars, Maliks, Ashrafs, Banyadaras, pattadars, Meerasdars, Jammidars, Kaniatchidars, while the present official records have relegated him to the position of tenants (Kudi in Tamil). The rights and privileges he had enjoyed as members of the village corporations was either appropriated by the middlemen-Zamindars or the Government or Zamindars. If a few broken bones collected at random from a grave-yard be made to represent the physical body of a particular individual before his death, then the present land-system can be said to stand for the one that existed in the pre-British days.

"I conscientiously believe" says our author with respect to the land policy of the present Government in general that under no Government whatever either Hindu or Muhammadan professing to be actuated by law, was any system so subversive of the prosperity of the people at large as that which has marked our administration."

Effect of the present land-policy.

The British Indian land policy has virtually transported our peasantry to the low position assigned to the similar class in Europe during mediaevial times. It has denied to it, the ownership to the soil unquestioned by the previous Governments, the Hindu and Muhammadan and has relegated him to the status of a tenant. As tenant, he is contributing to his landlord, the State or its agent the Zamindar, all that remains after meeting the expenses of cultivation (that is rent), while formerly he was paying only a certain percentage on his net rental as tax.

In the medieval Europe the tenant farmer was a serf that existed solely for his feudal lord and had to part with almost all the produce in some shape or other. There were then no alternate occupations to engage him and his families during non-agricultural seasons; Consequently he had to depend upon the slender resources left to him by the sweet will of his lord As agriculture depends upon seasons failure of seasons which was frequent, often subjected the people to famines. There were periodical famine, once in thirteen years. Millions had perished of them and of their attendant horrors, pestilences of various kinds. A third of the population is said to have been swept away then. Alas! However the modern statesmanship sprung out of the lava of that terrific social valcanie eruption—The French Revolution, came to the rescue of the peasantry and of humanity in general. The economic policy, evolved by the modern statesmanship, has conferred and is still conferring manifold blessings on the agricultural and other population. The peasant is no longer a tenant but he is the sole proprietor of the soil, making his contribution to the state only a small percentage on his net income, like a manufacturer or a trader. The economic policy that is being pursued in the West has made people greatly re-

sourceful and it makes it possible for the state to raise from time to time sufficient funds, which are lavished on sanitation, education, industry and every other thing that tendes to make a nation strong, virile, powerful and great. Europe is now perfectly immune from the scurges of famine or pestilence. The progress it has achieved, is in evidence even to a casual observer, throughout the entire fibre of its national life. People live there long and healthy and the output of their energies physical, intellectual and moral are ever enriching the nation in every department of human activity.

In India, once, the home of all arts and industries, every peasant or agricultural labourer, had formerly found himself engaged with his family in some industrial pursuit or other during non-agricultural seasons until the relentless and unnatural competitions of the West had killed one industry after another. What then was the result ? Millions are deprived of their hearths and homes. India is reduced to a plantation ground to grow raw produce for the West even at the expense of raising food stuff for the indegenous population. People ousted daily from their pursuits are compelled to resort to agriculture the only source left. All the available land good or bad are almost brought under plough. The average area per head of the population is showing decrease and it is hardly one acre per head. 80 per cent of the cultivated area is dry of which 20 per cent is said to be fallow in this Presidency although the ryots pay revenue on the same. The Indian Irrigation Commission of 1903 have recorded in an emphatic manner, that the prospect of utilising to any appreciable extent nearly 87 per cent of the water now running waste into the sea, was very very small indeed.

To be continued.

Historical and Scientific.

Lectures on Indian Music.

By M. S. Ramaswamy Aiyar, B.A., B.L., L.T.,

Lecture IV.

(*Continued*)

40. We noted that *Bilaval* was today the initial scale of North India and *Mayamalavagowla*, that of South India. Which of these two could be constituted as the initial scale for the whole of India? A hot discussion has arisen on the point. *Bilaval*, it is well known, is the *Sankarabharanam* of South India. Hence the question now before us is "which should be the initial scale—Sankarabharanam or Mayamalavagowla ?" The arguments adduced for *Sankarabharanam* are :—

(1) Sankarabharanam is a universal scale found in almost all the countries of Europe. China has it. Japan has *Suddha Saveri* which is but a derivative of Sankarabharanam. North India has Bilaval which is but the North Indian name for our Sankarabharanam. Why should South India alone deviate from the world's course?

(2) Children and others with uncultivated ears would feel it difficult to sing semitones at first. Most nations like pentatonic scale with no semitone at all. While Mayamalavagowla has four semitones, Sankarabharanam has only two. The lesser of two evils may be chosen, viz., Sankarabharanam.

(3) Composers like Thiagier and Dikhsithar have improvised songs more in Sankarabharanam than in Mayamalavagowla.

(4) Sankarabharanam has a ladder of uniform steps which it is easier to ascend and descend; while Mayamalavagowla's ladder has disjoined steps whereof some or too near one another and some are too far.

(5) The prominence of Mayamalavagowla in South India is only 100 years old and is due to the work of Purandra Doss.

41. The arguments adduced for Mayamalavagowla are :—

(1) Sankarabharanam, which is nearly the European C major scale, has all the bold and military dash of a European ; while Mayamalavagowla inspires enriches, adorns and enlarges the spiritual nature in us and is peculiarly adopted to promote the pious and devotional tendencies of the Indians.

(2) The bugbear of semitones is of European fancy. The Indian children have been praised even by Europeans for having succesfully sounded them, Further, the fear of the semitone applies more to instrumental than to vocal, music. To the human *voice*, one scale is as easy as another.

(3) The glide from one note to another is easier in Mayamalavagowla than in Sankarabharanam. For instance, the four main groups, Sa-Ri ; Ga-Ma ; Pa-Dha ; Ni-Sa, in Mayamalavagowla take the singer along the scale as easily as so many electric lifts ; while, in Sankarabharanam, the singer has, in passing along the scale, to jump over every other note, except in two cases and has thus to walk, as though he were on stilts, with long steps.

(4) To an Indian mind, a Komala or flat note is more attractive than a thivra or sharp one. While Sankarabharanam has only one Komala note, Mayamalavagowla has three. Hence the preference must be given to Mayamalavagowla.

(5) If Thiagier had more songs in Sankarabharanam. Purandra Doss had more songs in Mayamalavagowla.

(6) If Mayamalavagowla is only 100 years old in South India as the initial scale, the history of Bilaval is only a little over 100 years old, in as much as it was Muhammad Rezza that introduced it in North India, as the initial scale, for the first time in 1813.

(7) Folk-songs are found more in Mayamalavagowla and its varieties than in Sankarabharanam.

42. Let learned dust involve the combatants and let each claim truth and truth disclaim both. For, on the side of Mayamalavagowla, there is a repression of what is petty, a rejection of what is transient, a soberness in gaiety and an endurance in grief. On the side of Sankarabharanam, there is a vivid insight into and eager quest for, wayside beauty. Mayamalavagowla seems to say that life is puzzling and its solution must be hammered out, not by turning away from ugliness, but by compelling it to serve the ends of beauty. Sankarabharanam seems to say that life is simple and beauty is close at hand and that the mistake is in us if we fail to find it. Both the views are human and even inevitable in different stages. Which would you prefer? There is therefore no need of decrying one at the expense of the other. It is submitted that, so far as our purpose is concerned, a middle line of compromise should be drawn. Hence the syllabus of music-teaching should provide for simple and yet spirited songs in Sankarabharanam and its derivatives in the lowest classes, where saralis and the like will be unheard of ; and must also provide for manipulations in Mayamalavagowla, just when saralis and the like will be commenced in higher classes.

43. To continue the thread of our discourse, we noted that the Shadjagrama or the first ancient

scale was our modern *Karaharapriya.* We also noted that the Sruthis of Ma-grama were :—

S — R — G — M — P — D — N — Ṡ
0 — 3 — 2 — 4 — 3 — 4 — 2 — 4

Since, however, *Ma*-grama has to commence its scale with 'Ma', you will have to re-adjust its sruthis thus :—

M — P — D — N — S — R — G — M
0 — 3 — 4 — 2 — 4 — 5 — 2 — 4

This was the theoretical *Ma*-grama. But practically the scale started with S instead of M, though based on the same sruthis. Hence the practical *Ma*-grama ran thus :—

S — R — G — M — P — D — N — S
0 — 3 — 4 — 2 — 4 — 3 — 2 — 4

Refer now to fig. 9 and select there from the following eight notes :—

S—R3—G3—M1—P—D3—N1—S

which correspond to the sruthis of the practical *Ma*-grama. You may rewrite the same in terms of the notes of fig. 4 thus :—

S—R2—G2—M1—P—D2—N1—Ṡ

This is *Harikamboji* of South India or *Jingoti* of North India.

44. Be it remmbered that the sruthis of *Ga*-grama were noted to be :—

S R G M P D N Ṡ
0 2 4 3 3 3 4 3

Since *Ga*-grama has to commence its scale with 'Ga' you will have to re-adjust the sruthis thus :—

G M P D N S R G
0 3 3 3 4 3 2 4

This was the theoretical *Ga*-grama. But practically the scale started with S instead of G, though based on the same sruthis. Hence the practical *Ga*-grama ran thus :—

S R G M P D N Ṡ
0 3 3 3 4 3 2 4

Refer again to fig. 9 and select therefrom the following eight notes :—

S R3 G2 M1 P D3 N1 Ṡ

which correspond to the sruthis of the practical *Ga*-grama. You may rewrite the same in terms of the notes of fig. 4 thus :—

S R2 G1 M1 P D2 N1 Ṡ

This is the self-same *Karaharapriya* of the *Sa*-grama. Hence it is, I think, that *Ga*-grama has been now-a-days found to be unnecessary and consigned to oblivion.

45. The sruthis of the three gramas, as adjusted now, may be tabulated thus :—

Gramas	S	R	G	M	P	D	N	Ṡ	Modern Ragas
Sa-Grama	0	3	2	4	4	3	2	4	Karaharapriya
Ma-Grama	0	3	4	2	4	3	2	4	Harikambogi
Ga-Grama	0	3	3	3	4	3	2	4	Karaharapriya

Fig. XIII.

46. I said that *gramas* were unsingable group scales and that *moorchanas*, emanating out of them, were singable ones. From out of these moorchanas *there arose, it is said, Jathis**

The following table gives you the numbers, names sruthis, and Jathis of Moorchanas :—

* The usual number is seven.

(A) *Sa*-Grama Moorchanas

No.	Names of moorchanas.	European modes.	SIRGMPDNS2	Jathis.
1.	Utharamandra	C	0 4 3 2 4 4 3 2	Shadgi
2.	Abhirudgatha	D	0 3 2 4 4 3 2 4	Arshabi
3.	Aswakrantha	E	0 2 4 4 3 2 4 3	
4.	Mathsarikritha	F	0 4 4 3 2 4 3 2	
5.	Suddha shadju	G	0 4 3 2 4 3 2 4	
6.	Utharagatha	A	0 3 2 4 2 2 4 4	Dhaivathi
7.	Rajani	B	0 2 4 3 2 4 4 3	Nishadi

(B) *Ma*-Grama Moorchanas

No.	Names of moorchanas	European methods	SIRGMPDNS2	Jathis
1.	Suddha madhyama	C	0 4 3 2 4 3 4 2	
2.	Kalopanatha	D	0 3 2 4 3 4 2 4	
3.	Harinaswa	E	0 2 4 3 4 2 4 3	Ghandhari
4.	Sowori	F	0 4 3 4 2 4 3 2	Madhyama
5.	Hrishyaka	G	0 3 4 2 4 3 2 4	Panchama
6.	Powravi	A	0 4 2 4 3 2 4 3	
7.	Margi	B	0 2 4 3 2 4 3 4	

Fig XIV.

47. Including the 7 moorchanas of Ga-grama, we have in all 21 moorchanas from out of them 7 Jathis became popular and the rest fell into disuse. Thus Gramas, moorchanas and Jathis have all their prototypes even in the modern music of India viz., the Chromatic-Group-Scale of fig. 4, Vyankatamakhi's Melakarthachakram for South India and Bhatkhande's Ten Thata's for North India, and the current Janya or derivative ragas in either case, respectively. The only points of difference between the two sets are that the former was based and sung on the principle of the 22 sruthis, while the latter has practically missed it and that, in the former case, the alteration of tonic notes was employed (as is even now the case with European music) to secure the change of moorchanas, as the Parental Modes were then called—while, in the latter case, such alteration of the tonic fell into disuse and yet the change of Ragas is successfully brought about by a clever manipulation of *other* notes.

48. An explanation of some more musical terms I have to give you, before I bring this Lecture to a close. They are :—Graha, Nyasa, Amsa, Anga, Vadi etc. The first and last notes of a scale are called respectively Graha and Nyasa ; and they have now a days lost their importance, if any. But Amsa is even now important and is some times called the *jiva* or the soul of a Raga. It once meant 'a part' of a whole and was indifferently used with *Anga* which is now a name of the tetrachord. Amsa also originally connoted a tetrachord and, later on, the important note thereof. Its esthetic effect is to define the tessitura. Almost all the text books confirm that *Amsa is Vadi** and may still be different from the tonic drone, Vadi, Samvadi, Anuvadi and Vivadi are survivals of a theory of consonance now forgotten. Vadi is the predominant or *sonant* Note ; Samvadi is the *consonant* Note ; Anuvadi is the *assonant* Note ; while Vivadi is the *dissonant* Note. To use a metaphor, Vadi is the King ; Samvadi, the minister ; Anuvadi, the loyal subjects ; while Vivadi forms the Enemies. To illustrate, "S R2 G2 P N2 S" is the Hamsadhwani Scale. Here, S is the tonic ; S is the octave; G2§ is the Vadi ; N2 is the Samvadi ; R2 and P,

*यो यत्रांशः स तत्र वादी—Bharatha's Nâtyashâsthram.

§The well-known Krithi of "Vatapi Ganapathim" begins with the Vadi note G2.

Anuvadis; and all other Notes, Vivadis which are therefore omitted from the scale. Swaras between which there is an interval of 9 or 13 sruthis are samvadis to each other, e.g , SP; RD; GN; SM. Those between which there is an interval of 20 Sruthis are called Vivadis, e. g., GR and ND.

49. To sum up. Sound, as opposed to noise, forms the aesthetic and emotional side of music which is therefore conterminous with Physics. The compass of the musical scale increases with the state of civilisation. In cities the compass is anything up to, and even beyond, the octave. Among the west coast tribes it is not more than 4 or 5 Notes; among the Malayans and the Travancore boatman and also the Todas, not more than 3 or 4 notes; and among the remote Kanikas, only 2 or 3 notes. There are two broad tendencies in scale-building, viz., to step melodically to the next-door note and to leap harmonically to one which is not next-door, the leap being always to a consonant (samvadi) note 'steps' prevail in South India and 'Leaps', in north India. The Indian musical Scale originally began with a single note and reached first to the stage of the primal tetrachord of Samaganam, viz., G R S N. Even when the Saman scale became perfect, it was conceived as a downward series which, when the instrumental music came more and more into vogue, was turned upside down and became an upward series of the modern times. All the seven notes of a scale were first conceived only during the time of Samaganam; and Sharangadev only confirms my view by observing "This Music Brahma obtained from Sama-veda" * These seven notes were originally studied with reference to 22 semitones but were later on confined to 12. A new interest is being created now to realise once again the importance of the now-forgotten 22 Sruthis. Finally, Gramas, Moorchanas and Jathis played in those days what the Chromatic-Group-Scale Melakartha or Thata, and Janya Ragas play today.

To be continued.

*सामवेदादिदं गीतं संजग्राह पितामहः—Sangitaratnakara,

Reviews.

The Milk of Gandhism.

Gandhi's Letters on Indian Affairs. V. Narayanan & Co., 4, Kondi Chetti Street, Madras. Pp. 175. Rs. 1—4—0.

There is in our opinion a great appropriateness in issuing this publication at the present time. For, if there is one aspect of our public life that has come out very prominently in the course of the raging and tearing propaganda—this is only another form of inanity—carried on by Mr. Das it is, in the words of a contemporary, that people still cling to the name of Gandhi. As the same critic has it, neither the reasonableness nor otherwise of the sub-acid criticisms of Mr. Das of the great Gospel of N.C.O. is in issue. That he charged the Mahatma, who has been as astute a strategist as is possible for one of his essentially Tolstoyan temperament, with having wofully let down the national movements has roused the hearts of our countrymen against the peripatetic Anacharsis in our newest politics. A visp of temporary success may blind political novices to the intrinsic weakness of their position and policies; but the great mass of the people are still true to the flag which the Saint of Sabarmati has unfurled. And how far the masses and even the intelligentsia have fallen short of the essence of that gospel will be evident to any who care to go through these pages. These letters culled, as the publishers say, from the writings of Mr. Gandhi are supplementary to expositions scattered through the pages of *Young India*. But they omit nothing relevant to the proper understanding of the greatest message of these days in our emetic politics. Addressed sometimes to the public and sometimes to his colleagues and friends, the letters clench his arguments in the simple, intimate and direct way of epistolary communications. They bear the impress of his sweet reasonableness and persuasive candour that disarm criticism. A past master in the art of political controversy, Mr. Gandhi brings to bear upon the discussion of public questions, not only an acute dialectical skill but a most engaging spirit of gentleness and courtsey which leave no bitterness behind in the process of converting his political adversaries. From the open challenge at Champaran with which the book begins, to the last little note to Charlie (as Mr. C. F. Andrews is here called), through all the raging controversies of the Satyagraha and Non-Co-Operation campaigns, we see Mr. Gandhi in the same elevating character, now expostulating with the authorities for justice and fair play, now inspiring his colleagues with the fervour of his own faith in the righteousness of his cause, and always in undeviating greatness and magnanimity. Where all of a piece it perhaps needs some apology for singling out his soul-stirring invocation to his followers after the excesses at Bombay during the prince's visit; while the equally well-known piece: "If I am arrested" in which he emphasised the necessity of maintaining intact the basic boycott of Councils will have, apart from other weighty reasons, a sentimental appeal in these days when a whole set of his adherents are shattering that particular item of his programme with his name on their lips—a fine irony this in a world which only abounds in such over much. The booklet is neatly got up and is in a handy form. and we agree with the publishers that to read letters such as these brought together here is a liberal education.

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Miscellaneous

The Present Situation at Sringeri.

By R. Krishnaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L.,

I have read with much interst some of the articles which have appeared in the papers about the present situation in the Sri Jagadguru Mutt at Sringeri and I must admit that many of them, and especially the article on Mutt reform contributed by Mr. D. V. Gundappa to the '*Hindu*' of the 17th and 20th of April last, disquieted me a great deal as they sought to represent the position at Sringeri in a very unfavourable light. That Mr. Gundappa did intend to influence the minds of the persons interested in the Mutt is also clear from the fact that he has since published his article in the form of a pamphlet for wider circulation. The apparent aim of Mr. Gundappa and the other such correspondents is the bettering of the administration of the Mutt, but a close student of their articles will see that they seek rather the *extinction* of the Mutt itself, mildly characterised as liberalisation. The facts which gave rise to the articles are said to be the illness of His Holiness and the want of "effective control" over the administration. As regards the latter, it is sufficient to point out that Mr. Gundappa himself admits that the appeal for reform "should in other circumstances have been laid before the Jagadguru himself". The illness of His Holiness dates only from January last and no sort of representation or complaint seems to have been ever before made to His Holiness about the necessity for any reform or change in the management. It is therefore idle to say that there has been "a general complaint for a long time past that the administration of the Jahgir has been without sufficient scrutiny and effective control" or that "the desire for Mutt reform has long been growing acute in the mind of the Hindu public." The letters in the vernacular papers and the petitions to the authorities by a few residents of Sringeri, which are both referred to by Mr. Gundappa, are but recent facts after the illness of His Holiness. It may be that the local residents are in a better position than others to know about anything wrong in the administration. But it is also well to bear in mind that in such a large institution like the Sringeri Mutt it is but natural to find several defects and misdoings in the minor details of the daily administration, mostly due to the inefficiency or otherwise of the subordinate servants of the Mutt and that these minor evils will loom very large in the eyes of the people on the spot. Representations with reference to these matters, if timely made to the Jagadguru or the Officer in charge of the administration, would surely have received proper consideration and the evils would have been remedied. As a disciple of the Mutt having also touch with it now and then, I can certainly claim to be as much interested as any other in the spiritual efficiency of its work and in the proper administration of its secular affairs. I can further claim to be above the prejudice or bias which unconsciously attaches itself to the local people as regards the Mutt and the persons responsible for its administration. I have now come to Sringeri and am a little closely studying the present situation here. And I must say that I cannot help doubting the bona fide character of the local agitation that is made about the Mutt and that I can ascribe the agitation mainly to a want of local popularity in the Agent who is at the head of the administration and is likely to have consciously or unconsciously given rise to some personal grievances against him. But it has to be remembered that the Sringeri Mutt is not for the local residents of Sringeri alone nor even for the Mysoreans alone but for the whole Hindu community throughout the length and breadth of this vast country and that a considea-tion of the efficient management of the Mutt has to be irrespective of mere local considerations and interests.

2. The absence of any proper representation during all these years and the sudden agitation since January last after His Holiness' illness would, put together, clearly point to a strong consciousness of the fact that no so-called 'reform' will meet with the approval of His Holiness and to a desire to rush through and bring about behind his back such a 'reform' during the period of His Holiness' illness itself whereby His Holiness after his recovery and his successors for ever would be practically deposed from the lofty position of Jagadgurus with supreme authority in all matters religious and be relegated to the presidentship of a Parishat. It seems to me that it is most unfair and indelicate to urge such proposals at time when His Holiness is not in a position to give them serious consideration and when the Mutt authorrities are pre-occupied with the anxieties due to his illness.

3. The articles again do not seem to be the result of any genuine desire to make the Mutt more efficient for the purposes for which it was founded viz., the dessimination of pure orthodox Hindu culture and the practical training of earnest spiritual aspirants, but to make it a handle for the so-called social reform movement which aims at destroying the characteristic features of the true Hindu and levelling down all to a uniform state of irreligion. Mr. Gundappa, for instance, seems to be a staunch supporter of that movement, for he regrets that the "new reforming bodies" have not "been able to touch and transform any considerably large portions of the community"; he is evidently in sympathy with the "portestant bodies such as the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj" (it is not clear how he considers them as *within* the Hindu fold unless it be on the authority of the Census Officer; he obviously approves of the unshastraic methods of what a few social revolutionists call "Shuddi ceremony" which aims really at a confusion of castes and of Dharma; he is sorry perhaps that "it is not to be expected that the Mutt should agree to the total abolition of caste or permit what is almost the same thing, interdining and inter-marriage"; he seems also to want the "cancelling the untouchability of the Panchamass"; he wants the lot of young and childless widows to be 'bettered' by which he evidently means that they should be allowed to re-marry, for in all other respects they are no worse than others. It is no wonder therefore that he wants 'modernised organisations and modernity of outlook'. It will be strange indeed if our religion, which glories in the title of Sanatana or Eternal, beyond limitations of time, is to be accommodated to 'modernity.' But that is exactly what the correspondent wants, for in the very first sentence of the article he mentions the need for "securing such reforms in the organisation and working of the Hindu Mutts as will make them fit instruments for the promotion of those national and humanitarian aims which *the times prescribe* for the community." He is not therefore very particular about what the Shastres prescribe. His standpoint is explicable only on the basis that he has no proper conception of the exceptional magnificence of our Hindu religion and that he, by reason of his one-sided foreign education divorced from orthodox training, is misled by false analogy into seeking to apply to our socio-religious problems the crude principles enunciated by European writers like Mazzini for the guidance of peoples following the new-born religions of the West which have to be 'progressive' to justify their existence. The Hindu religion on the other hand, as will be shown presently, cannot be 'progressive' in the ordinary sense because

it is not capable of betterment or refinement, being divinely ordained and perfect for ever.

4. The Hindu religion of the Veda is unique in its kind, in that it claims to be as old as the Universe itself and to have emanated directly from God, the Supreme Paramatma, whose word to Brahma that was to be the creator of the concrete universe was the Veda. No similar claim is ever put forward by any other religion of the world, whether ancient or modern, or for any other literature. It is admitted on all hands that every other religion has had a birth at some particular time at the instance of some man or other. It is also admitted that humanity had, in every case, already been in existence before the birth of such religion. This one fact is enough to convince any one that, if at all there is any Religion of God, truly so called, it is the Vedic Religion alone. A true Religion of God should be at least as old as humanity itself, if God should be credited with good sense and wisdom. If on the other hand, a religion was born yesterday for man's good and guidance and if this alone were the true religion, the question has to be answered what was the eternally existing God doing towards the spiritual well-being and uplift of the humanity existing long prior to the birth of this religion. Was it that God had not cared for humanity then or had forgotten about it or what? For a religion therefore to be true, it must be one given by God to man for his guidance at the very birth of humanity, and the literature which is the word of God and which is the traditionally preservable verbal embodiment of the God-given religion must also be equally so old. Such characteristic conditions are present in our Vedic Religion and in none other. One other test also may be mentioned in this connection, a test which is satisfied by our religion alone. An eternally existing Religion of God, consistently with its having been in existence from the very beginning of the universe long before all possible conceptions of other so-called religions and consistently with its being the Ever One, Secondless, True Religion of God, cannot and would not make provisions, not even by way of providing for contingencies, for conversions from other religions; for, other religions in reality there can never be.

5. By the above remarks I do not mean to say that all the other extant Faiths in the world, 'religions' as they are called now, are useless altogether or that their founders have all misguided men by anything like deception. Far from it. These other religions have been, one and all of them, useful indeed though only to a limited extent, that is to say, useful for certain communities and for certain times. From their very origin and nature their practical usefulness can last only for a limited period of time and they flourish during that period and no more. How such religions came into existence was as follows. Humanity, when it first appeared on this earth at the beginning of the present Kalpa or world creation, appeared as a small community of divinely-natured (truly Aryan or Noble-minded) men and women residing in Aryavarta (India). The Vedic Religion of God was given to this original human community at its very inception through Brahma and the Prajapatis. According to the Hindu record, the Panchanga (religious almanac), successively maintained from the beginning from year to year for the guidance of the Karmic observances of the Aryans according to the Vedic directions, the world creation was over 195 crores of years ago (the exact figure now being 195,58,85025), not a mere few thousands as others guess. As Yugas and milleniums of years rolled on, humanity slowly and gradually spread from here throughout the world. Before such spreading began, neglect of religion to some extent appears to have slowly crept in here and there in this the Aryans' original home itself in the long course of time, and one direct result of it was that the Vedic religion completely lost its hold on such of the peoples as left this country and strayed away to distant lands in quest of more of material comforts and acquisitions alone to the utter neglect of Religion and its ways. The work of time has been otherwise also immense and it separated land from land by intervening straits and encroaching seas; and emigrant human communities were thus become confined to islands and continents incapable, for untold number of ages, of having mutual communications. Under circumstances like these it was impossible that even a trace of the religion of the original home could have retained any room in their minds. Yet, owing to the continued presence of the Aryan blood in their veins, however much diluted or contaminated by time and conditions, many people even in such communities, at any rate long after their excursions and exploitations and after they permanently settled down in their respective colonies securing all life-comforts and freedom from anxiety and fear, could not but have, whenever they had time and opportunities to think of the super-physical possibilities, an intellectual perception of a possible powerful divine hand in the workings of nature, an instinctive craving for some knowledge of the equally possible super-human states of existence and a vague kind of moral sense also. [Here the reader must totally forget the new fanciful theories of root-races and sub-races. In the world-humanity all are Aryans by descent, but only some retain their Aryanhood in life while the others, having lost it in their actual Un-Aryan (ignoble) life, have become and are known as Non-Aryans. Strictly speaking, the term "Aryans" can properly denote only those who continue to be qualified to follow and also actually follow the God-directed observances of our Great Religion, the Vedic observances which alone ensured to our first human ancestors the true Aryanhood of their divine nature.] Such intellectual perception and instinctive craving and moral sense it was that was to be the Saviour of the Non-Vedic world by occasionally preventing it from a hopeless, wholesale fall into mere brutal and utter materialistic existence. It was under the growing influence of such perception and craving and of the slowly developed moral vision under favourable circumstances certain noble souls of true merit and greatness now and then got inspired to found, to the best of their *then* lights, Faiths suitable also to the *then* needs and aspirations of the communities to which they belonged. Thus arose the Non-Vedic religions of the world time after time. They have been all useful ones for such communities and the good they have sown in the Non-Vedic world has raised ample results by way of bettering and ennobling human nature. Such religions naturally would be the ones suitable and sufficient for most of the people of such communities.

6. However, being but man-made ones, such Non-Vedic religions have been and are all subject to growth and decay. The life of each of them has had to depend upon the extent to which its creator "man" should choose to patronise it. If the patronage would cease, the religion would perish. The patronage would cease if the religion could not keep pace with man in his "progress" material, moral, intellectual and spiritual. In short, according to the Non-Hindu notion, religion must be at least equally progressive as man in order that it may successfully influence him. Progress in religion means betterment of its principles and rules, both theoretical and practical. Progress always connotes the idea of a passage from a more imperfect state to a less imperfect state; and such progress is certainly possible in the case of religions

founded by *men* who are but imperfect beings, however great and holy in themselves. Every *Non-Vedic religion* is therefore a more or less "*progressive*" religion. *Its merit lies in its being progressive.* The position of our *Vedic religion* is just the reverse. It is absolutely "Non-progressive," because it is ever absolutely true and there is and can be nothing truer still, towards which it can be said to make any progress. *Its merit lies in its being non-progressive.* The very ultimate goal of all life and existence is already and ever within its sphere. The ways and means of reaching that goal, both directly and through intermediate stages, are all clearly and definitely revealed by the Veda and are themselves ever true, definite and *unchangeable.* Our Vedic religion is not in the slavish position of being bound to follow the ways and whims of man to ensure its own existence. On the other hand, man is always bound to follow it if he wants to save himself. Its own safety is in superior hands, hands Divine, infinitely mightier than those of the ever feeble, imperfect and fickle minded man. Other religions may be born and may die, as many such have already done. Empires may rise and fall. Worlds themselves may come and go. But the Religion of the Veda cannot suffer. It is co-existent with God and appears along with the recurring appearance of the universe at every Kalpa and cannot and would not disappear from it during its period of manifestation, however much some foolish men may wish its end.

7. Further, all the good that is or can be done to humanity by the Non-Vedic religions cannot but be, as may be inferred from the fore-going considerations, very little when compared with the possible results of the training under the Vedic Religion. In fact, what we call here Samanya Dharmas or ordinary virtues, which should be common to all men, as men merely, such as a belief in the existence of a Supreme Being as the guiding Soul of the universe, a feeling of devotion to Him, strict adherence to moral conduct in all phases of human activity and the abandonment of vices, simplicity of life, refraining from causing harm or evil of any kind to others, thoughts of love and sympathy for all and philanthropic acts of help and benevolence and such lik are all, no doubt, raised as the wholesome results of the training under the Non-Vedic religions also. Their usefulness however stops there. Advanced human intellect wants a great deal more than what such religions can possibly give it. Of what exact nature is God? What is really meant by saying that God is the guiding Soul of the Universe? In other words, what exactly is the relation between Him and the Universe of souls and things? What is the true meaning of devotion to Him? and what is its final object? In brief, what is the true ultimate object of life and what are the means, if any, of realising that object? Further, why should man be moral in his conduct, that is to say, what is the true foundation for morality? What is the real ground for charity and love? Again, is there or is there not any connection between the deceased and the surviving, and if there is any, how can that be utilised for the good of all? If there are regions of existence other than our present one, what exactly are our means and chances for having contact with them or going to them, to such of them as are higher than or superior to our own now? What are the characteristic features of those functioning in such religions? A host of such questions arise for solution, to which the Non-Vedic religions have no satisfactory answers to give, nor *can* they have any. In fact, they can have no definite idea of existences and regions other than what we see here below. Their ideas of heaven and hell are ridiculously poor. They have also no explanations to offer regarding the existing anamolies of life even here. Even the simple fact of re-incarnation of individual souls and the necessary law of Karma, within the common knowledge of the Hindu, are unknown to such religions. To put it shortly, such religions can be only expected to train people, in a way more or less dogmatic, in the ordinary human virtues alone. This is the reason why some giant intellects of the West refuse to recognise the religion obtaining there. It may perhaps be asked why some good intellectual people here in India also refuse to follow their own Vedic Religion. There is a difference between the two cases. In the West an earnest study of the religion there ended in a conviction of its futility in the intellectual mind, whereas in India some men of very good intellect, spending all their time and energy in alien culture and worldly pursuits, become incapable of properly studying their religion and, having in them already a sort of prejudice against it, such prejudice being the creation of the alien culture itself, refuse to follow it *in their ignorance of it.*

8. Coming then to our main point, what the Non-Vedic religions do for their votaries is done for the Hindus mostly by their ordinary teachers, the secular Gurus (not the school-masters of the present day system surely). The Veda however is taught by the Shastraically qualified Adhyapakas, the Veda-Gurus. Knowledge in the different Vedanga Shastras, which help the rise, in due time, of the genuine Vedic wisdom by a correct understanding of the Vedic passages, is secured, and information about other Lokas or religions and existences, such as of Devas and Pitris, and also about their exact nature and conditions and the possible means and methods available to us for our serving them and making them help us and for having contact with them generally for good (Abhyudaya) is all known through the respective Shastrajnas, our Shastra-Gurus. In truth, acquisition of right knowledge so far should be had in the course of the Brahmacharya or student-life itself. When the stage of practice, by the actual adoption of the aforesaid means and methods and by otherwise also strictly following the Shastraic directions in active life for our own Abhyudaya and for the good of all beings, is reached by entrance into Garhasthyam, the stage of the householder, training in such practices is had under the guidance of our Purohits and such like helpers possessing Vedic Knowledge also; these are our teachers and directers in Pravritti Dharma (Dharma of activity). All the above kinds of teachers, the secular, the Vedic, the Shastraic and the Pravritti-Dharmic Gurus are themselves Grihasthas and they are to be our guides, both theoretical and practical, in all stages of education and training so far and in active life. Whenever there is trouble or difficulty standing against the way of our advancement, we have to seek the aid of such Grihastha Gurus and other competent Grihastha leaders in the community who can, consistently with their own Swadharma, help us by taking part in our struggles against such odds. Again when we have advanced far enough in our training in Pravriti Dharma and profited by the practical lessons of such training and when we feel inclined to get prepared to pass beyond the several stages of Pravritti and their respective Dharmas which can, no doubt, take us very far towards the realisation of our life-object but not far enough to enable us to *actually* reach the goal, we begin to think of the highest *Spiritual* path of Jnana and absolute renunciation, the lofty path revealed by the Vedanta alone, directly leading up to our true final realisation (Nisshreyasa). Then after passing through certain preparatory stages of qualified renunciation, more or less analogous to that of the Vanaprastha or forest life of other times, we finally seek

the aid of those who can truly help us to become qualified to enter on the above path of absolute renunciation, the spiritual path of Nivritti Dharma; and such helpers are our Sannyasi Gurus who, themselves having renounced all that is non-spiritual, have first-hand knowledge of everything connected with that spiritual path, the path of the True Spirit or Absolute Self, the Supreme Atma.

To be continued.

The Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Bill.

Statement of Points against the Bill submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

By The Hindu Conference, Udipi.

Continued

41. The pious and generous Hindu Kings and disciples gave money or lands to the Matadhipathies themselves in their personal character and by the rule of Mitakshara succession in a spiritual family as explained by Sir T. Muthuswami Iyer in I. L. R. 10 Mad. 375, the properties of the predecessors went to their successor. Even supposing the gifts were not personal but for Mutt purposes, these purposes are:

(a) The maintenance of a line of competent teachers, Acharyas, in their full dignity, for the purpose of imparting free religious instruction and affording spiritual solace to disciples.

(b) The maintenance of the Puja and other services of the idols which are really the objects of personal worship of the Acharya as distinguished from the Moola Vigrahams and Uthsava Vigrahams established in Temples dedicated for public worship,

(c) The feeding of Brahmins at the Mutt daily and on special occasions in connection with the religious services.

(d) The Guru Aradhana.

(e) The repair of the Mutt buildings.

(f) The expenses connected with the tour of the Matadhipathies in the various parts of the country to give *upadesam* or instruction to their disciples, and pilgrimage &c.

All these purposes are the primary functions of the Mutts. Grants made for the support of these Mutts, or grants made for the well known connected objects are therefore not made for charity generally. In other words as the Cypress doctrine would require, there is no general charitable intention in the case of these grants. As Mr. Justice Wallis points out in I. L. R. 35 Madras 278.

> "The property of Mutts is very largely derived from gifts made by the faithful to the head of the Mutt for the time being without any statement as to the purposes for which they were to be applied and it would I think be going too far to hold that such gifts were given and accepted on implied charitable trust. When the intention of the donor to make a gift to a charity is made out, equity no doubt will not allow the gift to fail because the charitable purpose is indicated in too vague and uncertain a manner for the Court to execute it, but will provide for its application by forming a scheme; but this is only when the charitable intention is clearly made out and as was pointed out by Tudor on Charities (Sixth edition) at page 86, any uncertainty as to the charitable intent is fatal to the gift being upheld as charitable."

He further observes that:—

> "If the objects of a gift are not stated, they cannot be presumed to be charitable Gifts made to heads of Mutts without any mention of the purposes to which they were to be applied cannot be considered to have been given upon trust for charitable purposes. Even if we were at liberty to resort to implication, it would be difficult to imply any trusts which would be regarded as valid charitable trusts. Nothing could well be vaguer than the trusts suggested in Sambanda Pandara vs. Sellappa Chetty I. L. R. 2 Mad. 175 and Gnana Sambanda Pandara Sannadhi vs. Kandasami Tambiran, I. L. R. 10 Mad. 375 and they would certainly appear to include purposes which the law does not regard as charitable. What is still more important, no attempt has been made to show that there is any usage that gifts made to Mutts should be applied exclusively to purposes which the law regards as charitable. If not, the conditions of a valid charitable trust are not made out, and the effect of raising such trusts would be to bring the validity of the gifts in question and if English principles apply, to render them invalid. Morice vs. the Bishop of Durham (1804) 9 Ves. 300, 10 Ves. 321 and Hunter vs. Attorney General (1899) A. C. 309. Further in my opinion, where gifts were given to heads of Mutts without any specific trust the inference suggested by circumstances of the case and by usage is that it was not intended to fetter the donees by any trusts in dealing with the gifts or to make them accountable in a Court of Law for their manner of dealing with them. The ascetic character of the donees and the great reverence in which they were held would, I think, have rendered such restriction in the eyes of the donors both unnecessary and unbecoming The fact that the heads of the Mutts have more or less frequently abused their position is not of itself a sufficient reason for treating them as trustees of the Mutt Endowments. 33 Mad. 265."

42. The third and even more important objection to Clause 63 is that the head of the Mutt has a large and beneficial interest. This is the accepted law now. 27 Mad. 435, 33 Mad. 265 and 44 Mad. 831. The Select Committee also in para. 6 of their report say "we recognise at the same time the powers of a head of a Mutt over Matam properties especially the income thereform are wider than those of an ordinary trustee" but the distinction is nowhere given effect to in any provision of the Bill. The basis of Clause 63 is that the surplus does not belong to the head of the Mutt, that he has no beneficial interest in it, that the income is not at his disposal but that he is accountable. Where the basis does not exist, it is not open to divert the surplus income to charities generally and then seek to apply it Cypress to any charitable purpose.

43. A fourth and vital objection to the diversion of surplus funds is this. It consists in the great and cardinal difference between the points of view of the religiously minded Hindus and points of view of the products of Western education. The latters' point of view is merely utilitarian. They regard any large expenditure in idol worship, festivals, religious learning and Brahmin feeding as sheer waste of public money while religiously minded Hindu has a larger vision and believes in the other-worldly benefits thereof, being trained to measure his salvation by the extent of the sacrifice he makes to meet such expenditure.

44. Lastly, due to a happy and welcome religious revival among the Hindus all over India demands on the resources of these institutions are likely to be multiplied. If the incentive to develop them by adding the income to the corpus of the properties as was being done hitherto by the Matadhipathies is removed, they would lapse into apathy and indifference. Knowing full well that a

portion of the money to be determined by an agency over which they have no control is to be devoted for purposes towards which they already contribute in the shape of taxes, deciples and devotees would be unwilling to part with their money as freely as they used to do. The intended legislation would therefore not only affect adversely the income of these institutions but also fail in its very object to secure funds for the ends in view. The only result of this legislation would therefore be the deplorable creation of discontent against Government among a people whom political agitation had as yet failed to stir.

45. The above objections apply equally to the surplus funds of Temples. It will be noticed that while the High Court at Madras in their judgment in the Tirupathi Mahant's case provided for an application of the surplus on the principle of Cypress, the Privy Council in the scheme prepared by them expressly provided that all surplus income was to be invested for the benefit of the Temple (Vide Clause 6 of the Scheme page 142 I. L. R. 30 Madras). It must therefore be assumed that the Privy Council discountenanced the application of the doctrine of the Cypress to this case and in that respect differed from the High Court at Madras. Under Clause 63 of the Bill, it is certainly open to the Board or the Committee to make an application to the Court for sanction to devote the amount of the endowment or such surplus as may be available to religious, educational or other charitable purposes, though there is a vague proviso that such purposes should not be inconsistent with the objects of such Mutt or Temple. This is obviously a wide departure from the rule laid down by their Lordships of the Privy Council. The position of a deity under the Hindu Law is very peculiar. It is a juridical entity and can hold property though for obvious reasons the property is managed by a person who is designated by different official titles in different parts of India. As the deity exists in perpetuity, its right and title to the property cannot be limited in point of time and it is obvious therefore that where property vests in a deity, its diversion to any other purpose on the principle of Cypress or the application of the surplus income thereof to any other purpose, amounts to an encroachment on the proprietory rights of the deity and is wholly unwarranted by Hindu Law. (See Ghose's Hindu Law Vol. I pp. 932 and 933).

V. Temples.

46. We must not omit to refer here to a few of the obnoxious features of the Bill which affect Temples exclusively, such for instance as extending the operations of the Bill to those Temples of which the managements have been settled by Courts, the enormous powers of the Committees and their Presidents to interfere with the minutest details of their management, the ousting of the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts, the irksome supervisory and final appellate powers of the Board in matters which have been and are legitimately within the competence and jurisdiction of ordinary tribunals, the supersession of Hindu Law in the appointment of Trustees etc., etc.

47. The assumption that schemes framed by Courts and affirmed and reaffirmed by the High Court and the Privy Council have not secured efficient management is a gratuitous and wanton insult to the Judicial tribunal of the Province. Inefficient management in spite of schemes is a mere myth. For instance, in the case of the Temple of Sri Venkateshwar, Tirumalai near Tirupathi, it will be noticed that since the settlement of the scheme by the Privy Council, given at page 142 of I. L. R. 30 Madras, the present Trustee has discharged his duties in accordance with the scheme and the rules framed pursuant thereto and the attempts to remove him from his Office or modify the scheme have repeatedly failed in the High Court. But, it will be easy for the Board under this Bill to bring about through the Subordinate Courts (which may even be Munsif's Courts Vide Cl. 5 (3).) what the High Court has refused to do, leading thus to an ouster of the High Court regarded as *ultra vires* of a local Legislature by Sir Lawrence Jenkins in I. L. R. 27 Bombay 445.

48. In the next place, there are some well-known Temples such as Tirupathi, Srirangam, Rameswaram, Subramaniam (South Canara) Dharmastala (South Canara) which are of all-India importance, to which Hindus all over India have contributed and are contributing and in which they are all interested. There is no moral justification for a Provincial Council to legislate for the whole of India in the absence of evidence as to public opinion outside the Province. We conceive that the only reason for including these temples and those governed by schemes already framed is to enrich the Board by contributions to enable them to maintain a large army of salaried officers and servants.

49. A second and more flagrant case of wrong inclusion and grave mischief under this Bill relates to Jains. Some Jains are hereditary trustees of Hindu Temples, some excepted and many non-excepted, such as the Temples, in Kapu, Dharmastala, Sural etc., in South Kanara. None but a Hindu can be a voter Vide Cl. 21, a trustee, Vide Cl. 46 or a member of the Board, Vide Cl. 8. Is it not a confiscation, by one stroke of the pen of vested rights possessed by these ancient families? Besides, there are certain combined institutions which are both Hindu and Jain Temples, as the one at Padubidare (in S. Canara), for example, and which are now under the hereditary management of Jains. The fact is that this ill-considered and hasty legislation has been undertaken by persons who have no knowledge of the religious institutions of the country and yet refuse to take time for studying their history, nature and constitution, being guided throughout by the sole object of securing power for advancement of their communal and party interests.

50. In the next place, the distinction between excepted and non-excepted Temples, is very difficult to understand and likely to lead to numerous conflicts and complications. Substantial rights are involved in the distinction and it is only fair and just that an impartial tribunal should decide which is which. But the Bill by Cl. 80 (1) gives the final power to decide this to the Board which is in the nature of things, deeply interested in narrowing the number of excepted Temples, so that the contributions to the Board and Committees may increase and their jurisdiction also widen. Here, as in other places, the Bill has in view only the financial consideration which forms the most unjust and prominent feature of this Bill. As a matter of fact, every one knows that, except the large Temples referred to above as of all-India importance, the Hindu Temples in South India have no sufficient income to keep the worship and festivals, Temple repairs and such necessary expenses, going. Such property as was given to them by Hindu rulers have either been taken away by the Government or are lost by adverse possession and many Temples are conducted with the aid of voluntary contributions from pious worshippers. The buildings of many Temples are already in ruins or are decaying for want of funds and this Bill requires them to contribute 3 or $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of their income for the unkeep of the Board and Committees and their staff. At a time when agitation has been started by various Temples for enhancement of the *Mohini* amounts, so that the Government might do *bare justice* for the wrongful deprivation of Temple properties without adequate return, and help the maintenance of the Temples on a proper scale, it is most disappointing that the Government, by this legislation should add to their burdens already too heavy to bear.

51. The Bill invests both the committees and the Board with extraordinary administrative powers Vide Clauses 14, 15, 31, 35, 38, 39, 49, 52, 53, 56, 71, 73, etc., without, except in some cases, the necessary safeguards of Civil action, a common law right open to a wronged individual in every civilized country. Extraordinary circumstances endangering the safety of a

State can alone warrant abrogation of civil rights. The origin of hereditary trustees of Temples and of the mirasi servants therein being shrouded in mystery and their legal rights being so complicated, fanciful theories and assumptions ought not to be credited to deprive them of their long-enjoyed rights and privileges without due and deliberate consideration. It is such a humane sentiment that weighed with the British Parliament when they restored Indian States to the heirs of legitimate claimants at a time when annexation could have been carried out without opposition. If these hereditary trutees stood on such footing as is being attempted to be given them, there was no reason for succession being governed by the Hindu Law. Any attempt therefore at the supersession of the existing law by the executive order of a Committee or a Board however constituted is to be deprecated.

52. Another objection which, however, shows only defective drafting is that the Charitable Endowments Act of 1920 remains unaffected by the Bill and there are serious practical inconsistencies between some of the provisions of this Bill and those of the enactments of the Government of India.

53. We have thus shown that the Bill strikes at the root of Mutts and temples, the visible symbols of our long established spiritual and religious ideals and is sure to create wide-spread discontent should it become law. We have in this Statement dealt with only the most salient points of the Bill to which we strongly object. We refrain from dealing with many more points which can be urged against it, as our Statement has already become too long and would reserve them for discussion at an interview with Your Excellency for which the Deputation is repeating its request. For the present, suffice it to say that the Bill has been conceived, framed and attempted to be brought into effect by persons having very scanty, if any, knowledge of our ancient Hindu Religious institutions. This was very prominently noticed even on the part of the Rajah of Panagal who is responsible for the Bill, when he confounded during the course of our recent interview with His Excellency the Governor of Madras, between the functions of a *Yati* who merely renounces the world for his own spiritual benefit and those of a Matadhipathi who besides being himself a Yati is burdened with the additional functions of serving a large section of the Hindu community as their guide and authority in all matters, religious and spiritual (Vide 10 Madras at 387) It is hardly necessary to add that the Deputation was almost shocked to hear that with such crass ignorance of the institutions he was dealing with, the Chief Minister responsible for the Bill should have displayed so much confidence in himself and his party, so much distrust in the party likely to succeed his, in the next elections and such supercilious contempt for the opposition to his Bill.

VI. Conclusion.

54. In conclusion, the result of the Bill is radically to alter the administration of Temples and Mutts and to bring them under the uniform control of a central body and to introduce innovations. The trustees of Temples and the heads of Mutts will naturally become subservient to the Board and will be unable to discharge their functions efficiently and independently. They and their servants will be oppressed by an army of petty administrators armed with the prestige and the orders of the Board. Corruption, partiality, intrigue and selfishness will become rampant. The local public and worshippers will have very little influence upon the Temple management, for the trustee will take shelter under the Board. The disgruntled servants of trustees and Matadhipathies and other mischievous persons will directly or indirectly set the Board against the trustees or Matadhipathies and there will be endless quarrels and factions. A new hierarchy of officials thoroughly secular, selfish and irreligious and wholly subordinate to the political influence of Government will be established over these religious and charitable endowments and their administration will become soul-less and mechanical and divorced from feelings of piety and religion which are at once the inspiration and solace of millions of Hindus. New ideas of social reform of persons strongly biassed against the existing Hindu religion and philosophy and against the traditions and usages of ancient Hindu Religious institutions will vitiate their administration. In no part of India has any similiar attempt been made or will be made and this Bill cannot but be regarded by pious Hindus all over India as a blow aimed at Hinduism and as revolutionizing it.

55. We must again point out that increasing attention is being paid to Religious institutions in particular localities by the public, that more care is being taken in the selection of Temple trustees and Matadhipathies and that the many-sided revival of Hinduism and the national life which is everywhere visible is organising Hindu opinion so as to exert an increasing pressure upon the administration of Hindu Religious and Charitable institutions. That Hindus have come to feel that they can reform their own institutions wherever necessary without the help of any Legislature or Government, that the vast bulk of the Hindus feel that reform in religious and quasi-religious matters must come from within and cannot be forced from without and that the political and communal bias of the party in power is such that it cannot be safely entrusted with the superintendence of administration of religious endowments, all these are matters too plain to need elaboration and must be within the knowledge of Government. This Bill is therefore altogether unnecessary.

56. In the circumstances we have no hesitation in respectfully requesting Your Excellency to withold assent to this Bill.

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